1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the production of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversifications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 (4) The field is burned for the last time, and as new cane or grass appears, it is used as pasture.

(5) After one year of pasture, sometimes more, the field is replanted to cane.

[529] The length of the harvest varies. It begins with a festa (festival) in the first week of September and continues as long as there is cane and as long as the heavy rains hold off--usually about six months.

249 311 Within the sugar cane area most of the land is in cane or in temporary fallow pasture except: (1) very wet bottom lands; (2) steep slopes; (3) villages; and (4) the lands and yards occupied by the mills. The general aspect of this area is that of an unbroken sea of cane. Single fields are often large--a square kilometer is not uncommon--but they are divided into separate plots. The cultivation of other crops within the sugar cane area is very limited. Small house gardens for the laborers are common, but other commercial agricultural forms of land use are rare.

249 423 257 184 Land holdings, as will be seen, generally are large under this system. The orientation of the sugar industry in São Filipe is somewhat different than in the zone discussed above. Properties are smaller, the monocultural aspect less dominant, and the whole sugar economy more primitive. There were eighty-two small sugar mills in this area in 1940, compared to the eight large usinas of Santo Amaro. [273] Many of these produced crude sugar (rapadura) rather than the refined sugar or cane brandy (cachaça) which are the main products of the zone north of the Bay.

245 The Cultivation of Coconuts. The final important agricultural system of the Recôncavo is the coconut monoculture, a less highly organized permanent culture than the sugar cane system.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
505 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
496 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
471 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
249 usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment, but the general level of technology is considerably below that of Pernarbuco or São Paulo and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
438 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
439 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
382 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
385 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
654 alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
433 1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company, which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment, and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[The Private Plantation]

Then everyone dons his best and the women dance while the men play the drums, tambourines, and cavaquinhos (a ukelelelike instrument) or simply stand around watching, gossiping and "passing the branquinha" (the local white rum).

There is a hierarchy of personnel on the plantation, which starts with the owner, Dona Sinhá, and her family. On other plantations the owner is also sometimes a lawyer, doctor, or engineer whose main interests, both economic and social, are in the city of Salvador. This is not always the case, however, for many owners are only rural proprietors, as is Dona Sinhá. But it is always considered a sacrifice to be obliged to spend the winter on one's plantation. It has been a traditional prerogative of the plantation master to spend the winter in the city, and it is one of the traditions kept up today by the planters. However, as soon as the rains show signs of abating in August or September, Dona Sinhá appears on the scene, generally grateful for her release from the city and from the round of anniversaries, parties, and official functions she feels called upon to attend while there.

This aspect of partial absenteeism has given rise to the next rung in the hierarchical ladder: the overseer. As such he is a relatively new phenomenon, but he has actually been part of the scene for a long time. At the time of the engenho, the feitor-mor, or head foreman, frequently occupied the place of today's overseer. Seu Paulo is the focal point for most activities on Fazenda das Moças. It is he who puts into action Dona Sinhá's plans, for he has the greatest contact with the workers in the fields and at home, on the arruado (the street on which the houses are located). During the time Dona Sinhá is away he is ruler of the plantation (dono da terra).

Seu Paulo rose from the workers' ranks; he is familiar with all aspects of sugar-cane cultivation, and is able to handle men and to deal with the owner as well as with the workers. He is a dark mulatto, about forty-six years old, with a large family. He is sought after by the workers as godfather to their children. He rents a small piece of land on which he raises his own sugar cane. He has his own burros, oxen, and carts, which he rents to Dona Sinhá during the harvest season. Although unable to read or write, he can do figures in his head in an astounding fashion. He dresses well, in what is sometimes thought to be an attempt to imitate the plantation master of bygone days, while Dona Sinhá and her family have adopted a more comfortable garb for the country--"modo ameri-

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[Class C Families]

883
584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become
[836] public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the
[263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper
[843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion
574 such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends
252 and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook.
262 Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and
[476] plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared
[273] by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time
[251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there
*565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is particularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never
574 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the
535 festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and guitars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural
[369] area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even
888 godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a
736 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

794 ("guide") and a protector who, if she obeys the prescribed rituals and taboos, may bring her, it is thought, much fortune and happiness. "Look at me!" exclaimed a newly "made" *filha*. "My *orixá* is the greatest of all the *orixás*. He's powerful. I'm a black woman and can't read or write. But I'm living with a man *formado* in the Faculdade de Medicina. See what Oxalá did for me!"

794 796 [562] As has already been noted, the rituals and ceremonies of the cult are serious and dignified and carried on in accordance with fixed traditional forms. Among the essential elements of the Gêge-Nagô ceremonies is the rigid separation of spectators according to sex. The males always occupy the seats to the left of the drums, the females those to the right. [273] No drunkenness or obscenity is permitted. Said a member of a Nagô *seita*, "If they drink *cachaça* in a *candomblé*, you may know it is not well organized." Once at a ceremony at Gantois an intoxicated man forced his way through the crowd into the *barracão*. Immediately, the *mãe de santo* who was presiding signaled to two *ogans* who, calling out of the crowd a police official, promptly ejected the intruder.[1]

794 576 The *filhas de santo* before beginning a ceremonial dance make obeisance to the *pae* or *mãe de santo* by dropping to their knees and bowing their heads to the ground before the leader of their cult. Similar obeisance is also made to visiting *paes* or *mães de santo* or other honored personages of the fetish world and, occasionally, to the *ogans*.

794 796 787 When, during the ceremonial dance an *orixá* "arrives in the head" of a *filha*, she must, after the first violent seizure

[1] Such romanticized accounts of fetish cult ceremonies as that given by Graça Aranha and uncritically quoted by Vera Kelsey (*Seven Keys to Brazil* [New York, 1940], pp. 27–28), if they have any basis in fact at all, owe it to the disintegration of formerly wholesome cultural forms now characteristic of certain *macumba* centers of Rio de Janeiro. [114]